Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7907

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMCONSUL ADANA

AMCONSUL ISTANBUL

AMCONSUL IZMIR

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TAGS: PFOR, MASS, TU, US

SUBJ: MAJOR PARTIES' ATTITUDES TOWARD CUTOFF

SUMMARY: CONTACTS WITH TOP-ECHELON REPRESENTATIVES OF BOTH MAJOR PARTIES HAVE BROUGHT OUT THAT BOTH ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED BY U.S. MILITARY AID CUTOFF. RPP ATTITUDE IS THAT CUTOFF OBLIGES COMPLETE REEVALUATION OF TURKEY'S FOREIGN POLICY, ALTHOUGH THIS CONSEQUENCE COULD STILL BE HEADED OFF IF AID RESTORED SOON. JP'S ATTITUDE FOCUSES ON NEED TO PROTECT TURKEY'S ALLIANCES FROM -GO-HOME" CAMPAIGNS; HOWEVER, CUTOFF HAS WEAKENED JP'S POSITION. ALTHOUGH BOTH PARTIES BELIEVE SHOCK OF CUTOFF MAY HELP RESOLVE GOVERNMENT CRISIS, NEITHER HAS NEW PLAN FOR PRODUCING GOVERNING COALITION. END SUMMARY.

1. REPRESENTATIVES OF TOP LEADERSHIP OF TWO MAJOR PARITES, CONFIDENTIAL $\,$

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REPUBLICAN PEOPLE'S PARTY (RPP) AND JUSTICE PARTY (JP), IN

MEETINGS WITH EMBOFF FEBRUARY 7 DISCUSSED THEIR PARTIES'
VIEWS ON AID CUTOFF. FOLLOWING IS OUTLINE OF THEIR POSITIONS:

A. RPP DEPUTY SECGEN DENIZ BAYKAL, FORMER FINMIN IN ECEVIT'S CABINET, U.S. EDUCATED, HIGHLY INTELLIGENT AND ARTICULATE, VERY CLOSE TO ECEVIT:

(1) CUTOFF IS MOST IMPORTANT EVENT OF LAST SEVERAL YEARS FOR TURKEY'S FOREING POLICY. IT HAS DESTROYED ESSENTIAL CONFIDENCE IN RELIABILITY OF U.S. AS ALLY, AND EVEN IF AID IS RESTORED

CONFIDENCE CAN NEVER BE SAME AGAIN.

- (2) CUTOFF REDUCES TURKEY'S MILITARY CAPABILITY TO COMPENSATE FOR INCREASED VULNERABILITY PRODUCED BY PRESENCE OF U.S. BASES. (EMBOFF TOOK ISSUE, POINTING OUT THAT BASES ALSO STRENGTHEN TURKEY'S SECURITY ALONG WITH THAT OF ALL OTHER MEMBERS OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY ARRANGEMENT.)
- (3) MEANING OF "SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS" IN CYPRUS TALKS WAS UNCLEAR. CONGRESSMAN HAYS HAD LEFT ECEVIT (AND BAYKAL, WHO WAS PRESENT) WITH IMPRESSION THAT PROGRESS ON ISSUES OF NICOSIA AIRPORT AND FAMAGUSTA PORT WAS ESSENTIAL TO CONVINCING CONGRESS THAT CONDITIONS SET BY LEGISLATION HAD BEEN MET, AND TURKS HAD DONE THEIR BEST ON BOTH ISSUES. HE HOPED FOR FURTHER CLARIFICATION OF WHY USG HAD NOT CONSIDERED THESE ACTIONS SUFFICIENT.
- (4) MAKARIOS'S RETURN HAD MADE CYPRUS SOLUTION MUCH MORE DIFFICULT. RECENTLY ECEVIT HAD RECEIVED LETTER FROM GREEK PRIMIN KARAMANLIS SAYING THAT TURKEY MUST SETTLE PROBLEMS DIRECTLY WITH MAKARIOS, NOT THROUGH GREECE. SUCH AN ATTITUDE IN ATHENS WAS MOST UNHELPFUL AND DISCOURAGING.
- (5) TURKEY MUST PROCEED WITH A REEVALUATION OF ITS FOREIGN POLICY. RPP UNDERSTANDS U.S. ADMINISTRATION'S POSITION BUT MUST DEAL WITH FACT OF U.S. ACTION. "WHEN AN ARMY CHANGES ITS SOURCE OF SPARE PARTS, A COUNTRY MUST CHANGE ITS FOREIGN POLICY."
- (6) (WHEN ASKED IF POLICY REEVALUATION WERE INEVITABLE CONFIDENTIAL

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WHETHER AID RESUMED OR NOT)- IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO MOVE TOWARD RESTORATION OF OUR OLD RELATIONSHIP IF THESE STEPS COULD BE FOLLOWED, STARTING AT EARLY DATE:

- --FIRST, U.S. MUST RESOLVE ITS CRISIS OF AUTHORITY.
 "WE CANNOT DEAL WITH A TWO-HEADED GOVERNMENT."
- -- CONGRESS MUST MAKE CLEAR DECISION PLACING MILITARY

SUPPLY ARRANGEMENTS ON DEPENDABLE BASIS.

--AFTER RESTORING AID, U.S. SHOULD BEGIN TO RESTORE
TURKISH PUBLIC'S CONFIDENCE BY MAKING STRONG PUBLIC STATEMENTS
OF ITS POLICY, ACCOMPANYING THESE WITH SYMBOLIC ACTIONS.

(7) CUTOFF MAY GIVE TURKEY'S POLITICAL PARTIES FRESH STIMULUS TO OVERCOME GOVERNMENT CRISIS. HOWEVER, RPP IS NOT ENGAGING IN ANY NEW EFFORT OF ITS OWN.

B. JP SECGEN NAHIT MENTESE, MINISTER IN THREE PREVIOUS CABINETS, ONE OF MOST POPULAR FIGURES IN HIS PARTY, LONG-TIME POLITICIAN WHOSE PRIMARY CONCERN IS DOMESTIC POLICY, SPEAKS ONLY TURKISH:

(1) JP HAS ALWAYS BELIEVED IT MUST DEFEND TURKEY'S RELATIONS WITH U.S. AND NATO AGAINST "GO HOME" CAMPAIGNS, WHICH HE ATTRIBUTED TO RPP IN 1960'S. JP INTENDS TO CONTINUE DOING SO. CLEARLY, HOWEVER, TO TAKE DEFENSIVE POSITION ON CUTOFF ISSUE ITSELF WOULD WEAKEN JP. BUT JP WILL NOT LET "GO-HOMERS" WIN THEIR CAMPAIGN.

(2) IT WOULD BE MOST HELPFUL TO HAVE CLEARER INDICATION OF PROSPECTS FOR RESUMTPION OF AID.

(3) ATTACKS BY LEFT (PRINCIPALLY RPP) ON TURKEY'S PRO-U.S., PRO-NATO ORIENTATION MAY BECOME SERIOUS ENOUGH TO CONVINCE DEMOCRAT PARTY THAT IT MUST JOIN OTHER CENTER-RIGHT PARTIES IN NATIONAL FRONT UNDER JP'S LEADERSHIP. IF SO, FRONT WOULD HAVE A GOVERNING MAJORITY. LEFT'S CHALLENGE MIGHT THUS BE WHAT IS NEEDED TO COMPLETE REUNIFICATION OF FRAGMENTED PARTIES OF CENTER RIGHT

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(4) ASIDE FROM LATTER POSSIBILITY, JP HAS NO PLAN FOR ENDING GOVERNMENT CRISIS. MENTESE HAD JUST ISSUED DENIAL OF PRESS REPORTS THAT JP DISCUSSED COALITION WITH RPP. SUCH COALITION WOULD INVOLVE ABANDONMENT OF NATIONALIST FRONT AND THEREFORE WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE.

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